/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 415 *[192] Often one sees a small press, ã'rã̃ aroãrõ (Uaupés a'nã̃ anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the headwaters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8),
415

8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

• 351 A square, maxkĩ-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any
*[192] vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarĩ-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

351 There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that
504 leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of wĩx-tĩ at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2)).

/ 504 When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality.

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations.

A residence site is commonly called *tasá*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taíbo* (a made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makáno*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobónu*, based on *hobá*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabó* (food place).

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii – footpaths – leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone.

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkiwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.